3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Law OQ6
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stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which has continued to the present, with the exception of the influenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63]

The colonial government has been directly concerned with the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64]

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65]

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows:

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.

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sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

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the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions which do actually tend to function toward just this end.

For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.